

Message Text

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64

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EA-11 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST UNN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR UR XB

SUBJ: BREZHNEV'S TASHKENT SPEECH: FOREIGN POLICY

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REF: MOSCOW 11588

1. SUMMARY BREZHNEV KEYED FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTION OF SEPTEMBER 24 TASHKENT SPEECH TO ASIA, WHICH HAD ALSO BEEN FOCUS OF AUGUST 15 SPEECH IN ALMA ATA. HE CHALLENGED PEKING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS IN DEEDS, NOT WORDS, AND REVEALED THAT SOVIETS HAD RECENTLY RENEWED OFFER OF NON-ATTACK TREATY. HE WARNED UNIDENTIFIED POLITICIANS WHO SOUGHT PROFIT FROM ABNORMAL SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS THAT CONFLICT BETWEEN PRC AND USSR COULD HARM OTHER STATES. HE CHIDED CRITICS OF DETENTE-- PRESUMABLY INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION -- WHO TOOK AN "ALL-OR-NOTHING" ATTITUDE TOWARD DEALING WITH THE WEST. HE MENTIONED INDIA AND JAPAN PROMINENTLY IN ANTICIPATION OF FORTHCOMING SUMMITS, AND SOUGHT TO REASSURE THIRD WORLD THAT ITS INTERESTS COINCIDED WITH SOVIET POLICIES. END SUMMARY.

2. BREZHNEV SOUGHT TO PORTRAY USSR AS AGGRIEVED PARTY IN DISPUTE WITH CHINA, REVEALING NEW OFFER LAST JUNE OF NON-ATTACK TREATY (REFTEL) AND DECLARING THAT SOVIETS HAVE NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST CHINA. HE REVERTED TO FORMULA USED IN DECEMBER 1972 SPEECH IN OFFERING TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH PRC ON BASIS OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IF THAT WAS THE BEST CHINA COULD DO WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. NOTING CHOU EN-LAI'S TENTH PARTY CONGRESS REFERENCE TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AND NEED TO SETTLE BORDER QUESTIONS PEACEFULLY, BREZHNEV CHALLENGED CHINESE TO BACK THEIR WORDS WITH DEEDS.

3. IN USE OF TERM "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE", BREZHNEV MAY HAVE HAD DUAL PURPOSE. BY PICKING UP CHOU EN-LAI CUE WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO MORE PROFITABLE DIALOGUE WITH PEKING, HE PRESERVES BOTH SUBSTANCE AND APPEARANCE OF SOVIET "OPEN DOOR" POLICY. AT SAME TIME, BY BUILDING A RECORD OF DEALING WITH PRC ON SAME BASIS AS OTHER COUNTRIES HAVING DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS, HE MAY BE LAYING GROUNDWORK FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD REGARD PEKING AS AN OUTCAST.
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4. CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, BREZHNEV ADDRESSED UNIDENTIFIED POLITICIANS WHO HAVE SOUGHT, ESPECIALLY OF LATE, TO PROFIT FROM CURRENT FRICTIONS. HE DIVIDED SUCH PEOPLE INTO THOSE WHO OPENLY EGG PEKING ON TO SHARPER ANTI-SOVIETISM, AND THOSE WHO PROFESS TO HOPE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS BUT IN FACT WORK TO EXACERBATE DIFFERENCES. MAKING

CLASSIC ARGUMENT AGAINST FISHING IN TROUBLED WATERS, BREZHNEV WARNED THAT CONFLICT SITUATIONS BETWEEN PRC AND USSR COULD DAMAGE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL, AND OBSERVED THAT FOREIGN POLICY ACTION NOWADAYS HAVE NUMEROUS UNFORESEEN CONSEQUENCES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD;. (ENBASSY FRANKLY DOES NOT KNOW WHAT PROMPTED THIS WARNING . IT SEEM UNLIKELY THAT HIS MAIN CONCERN WAS THE U.S. IN ANY CASE, THIS PASSAGE WILL BEAR FURTHER EXAMINATION AND DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET SPECIALISTS.)

5. BREZHNEV DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE EFFORT TO DEFENDING DETENTE, WHICH HAS YIELDED RESULTS IN EUROPE AND THE WEST AND WAS GATHERING MOMENTUM IN ASIA. HE CHARACTERIZED IMPROVEMENT OF U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS AS ORGANIC COMPONENT OF OVERALL IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE , REJECTING (FOR BENEFIT OF THIRD WORLD) IDEA THAT THESE TWO NATIONS ENJOYED OR CLAIMED ANY SPECIAL RIGHT TO DETERMINE FATE OF OTHERS. TURNING TO CRITICS WHO CARP AT HALF-MEASURES TOWARD GOALS OF COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, DISSOLUTION OF MILITARY BLOCS, ETC., BREZHNEV DECLARED THAT "ALL-OR-NOTHING" APPROACH IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS WAS NAIVE AND UNSUITABLE, THAT IT DAMAGED THE CAUSE OF PEACE. (IN CONVERSATION SEPTEMBER 25, USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ARBATOV DECLINED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT BREZHNEV REMARKS WERE DIRECTED AT INTERNAL CRITICS AND SUGGESTED INSTEAD THAT THEY WERE AIMED AT FOREIGN TARGETS. NEVERTHELESS, BREZHNEV TREATMENT OF THIS SUBJECT STRIKES US AS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF INTERVAL OPPOSITION TO DETENTE, AND AT SAME TIME A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF HIS INTENTION TO HOLD FAST TO THIS FOREIGN POLICY COURSE.)

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6. BREZHNEV GAVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO INDIA AND JAPAN, BOTH OF WHICH ARE ON HIS SUMMIT AGENDA . REMARKS ON INDIA WERE STANDARD AFFIRMATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND ESTEEM. IN WELCOMING TANAKA VISIT, BREZHNEV SAID MEETING COULD BE IMPORTANT DEPARTURE IN NEW DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BUT AVOIDED SPECIFICS.

7. NOTABLY, BREZHNEV SAID NOTHING ABOUT CHILE, A SUBJECT HE HAD TREATED IN SOFIA SPEECH BUT BEFORE SOAUEU BREAK IN RELATIONS ANNOUNCED.

8. IN SPEECH WHICH GENERALLY SHOWED CONCERN FOR NON-ALIGNED SENSITIVITIES, BREZHNEV ALSO PUBLICLY SURFACED HIS OPPOSITION TO VIEWS (BOUMEDIENE IS APPARENTLY MEANT) WHICH DIVIDED WORLD INTO LARGE

AND SMALLSTATES. HE STAED THAT WATERSHED AMONG
STATES IS BETWEEN THOSE WHO STAND FOR PEACE AND
PROGRESS AND THOSE FOLLOWING LINES OF AGGRESSION
AND REACTION.
DUBS

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